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A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

SUPPRESSION BY COL. BURR,

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS, LATE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

WRITTEN BY JOHN WOOD,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND AND OF THE SWISS REVOLUTION.

To which is added

A BIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES;

AND OF

GENERAL HAMILTON:

With ſtrictures on the

CONDUCT OF JOHN ADAMS,

And on the

CHARACTER OF GENERAL C. C. PINCKNEY.

EXTRACTED VERBATIM FROM THE SUPPRESSED HISTORY.

By A CITIZEN of New-York.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY DENNISTON AND CHEETHAM,
No. 142, PEARL-STREET.
1802.

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PREFACE.

THE minute facts related in the following narrative, may induce the belief in the reader, that Mr. Wood is the writer of it. It may be supposed that no one but Mr. Wood, who may be properly termed the *agent* of Mr. Burr to negociate the *suppression*, could be acquainted with the incidents appurtenant to the negociation, and which are truly related in the narrative. Such a conclusion, however, would be incorrect; and it is merely to obviate it, that this short preface is written. The narrative is *not penned by Mr. Wood, by Messrs. Barlass and Ward, nor by Mr. William P. Van Ness*; it is written by one who from his *connection with the parties*, had an opportunity of knowing the very minutiæ of every step taken in the suppression: nor is he induced to lay it before the public from motives of *personal ill will* to the vice president; considerations of a more noble and elevated nature have mixed themselves in the determination to develope the transaction. Combining the suppression with *other circumstances* of a *much more weighty and serious nature*, and which shall, with all due speed be laid before the public, the writer cannot resist the belief, that some thing "is rotten in Denmark;" that under an exterior which, though not altogether pleasing, is calculated to make false impressions on unsuspicious minds, *something exceedingly unpropitious to the freedom of the union, is at this moment contemplated by the vice president.* In this he *may* be mistaken; he sincerely hopes he is; but he entertains, he thinks, *well founded doubts* of the fairness of the views of the vice president, and it comports with the duty he owes to freedom, to un-

fold them. The preſent moment is peculiarly auſpicious to an inveſtigation of whatever ſurmiſes unfriendly to Mr. Burr may have gone abroad. Our annual election is over; the preſs is free as air; and univerſal placidneſs reigns over the nation. Under theſe circumſtances, he invites inveſtigation, that if he be miſtaken in his opinions of the views of the vice preſident, they may be corrected by arguments and by facts. When this ſhall have been done, he promiſes with much ſincerity and truth, to give to Mr. Burr a moſt cordial ſupport. On the other hand, ſhould theſe opinions, by an ample examination of his views, be confirmed, Mr. Burr ſhall meet with an opponent, in the author, commenſurate with his talents and his leiſure.

NEW-YORK, *May*, 1802.

NARRATIVE &c.

MR. JOHN Wood contracted with Meſſrs. Barlas and Ward, bookſellers in the city of New-York, to write a Hiſtory of the Adminiſtration of John Adams, late preſident of the United States. In conformity with the agreement, the hiſtory was written, and an edition of twelve hundred and fifty copies of it printed. As uſual, it was advertiſed for ſubſcription in ſeveral News-papers, many ſubſcribers to the work were obtained, and the public were in daily expectation of witneſſing its publication. The edition was bound in boards and ready for ſale early in December laſt, by the proprietors of it. A faithful hiſtory of an epoch ſo intereſting in the annals of the federal government, as that of the adminiſtration of Mr. Adams, could not fail to excite public curioſity. Accordingly, an unuſual ſolicitude was every where manifeſt; public expectation was awakened; and we looked forward with the pleaſing hope of ſeeing accurately portrayed, thoſe acts which had attracted the attention of Europe, excited the ſenſibility of the Union, and which had put in Jeopardy its freedom and repoſe.

A correct hiſtory of the late adminiſtration, would be the moſt precious contribution a citizen could make to the community: to unfold the motives, and to delineate the meaſures of that adminiſtration in a well written hiſtory, would tend to conſummate and to render durable the recent triumph which reaſon obtained over a party, who have endeavoured to impoſe upon the union a polity ſubverſive of our republican inſtitutions. Such is the intimate

connection between freedom and hiſtory, that the one cannot exiſt where the other is not: they are by nature, inſeparable companions, and impart to each other mutual aid. Hiſtory may not inaptly be termed a mirror, which truly repreſents paſt objects by reflection. It admoniſhes us to avoid the evil, and it equally excites us to admire and to imitate the commendable acts of paſt life. It may be denominated a compaſs, which ſafely guides us through the devious paths of adverſe viciſſitudes. Such indeed is the natural propenſity of man to quieſcence and forgetfulneſs, that, were it not for hiſtory, he would ceaſe to remember thoſe things which were tranſacted but as yeſterday, although they ſhould be eſſential to his ſafety and repoſe. Hence the wiſdom of our cuſtom to read annually and publicly our Declaration of Independence, which will be heard with rapture, ſo long as liberty ſhall have a friend and virtue ſhall be cheriſhed. While it reminds us of thoſe covert and open acts by which attempts were made to inſlave the colonies, it inſtructs us in our rights, and cordially invites us to guard againſt ſimilar attempts within the union.

The adminiſtration of Mr. Adams forms an era in the annals of this country, of little leſs moment than that which immediately preceded our revolution. I am much miſtaken if a ſyſtematic plan were not formed by it, to introduce into the union, that preciſe ſyſtem of internal police, to oppoſe which the States ſucceſsfully appealed to arms. Nor is this opinion made up of mere conjecture. We have evidence ſtrong as death of the deſign. That adminiſtration copied implicitly the acts of the Engliſh government, even in the worſt and moſt vitiated period of its hiſtory. We had alien and ſedition laws, ſpies and informers. Our dungeons were converted into habitations for patriots. The

will of the executive became the animating principle of our federal legiſlature, and that will was palpably in favour of monarchy.* The preſs was arreſted, and the tongue ſtood ſtill. Riot ſucceeded to riot, and he who would not bow obſequious aſſent to the maniacal deeds of the day, was every moment in perſonal danger. War was courted with all the eagerneſs and alacrity of ſelf-defence. Hopes were entertained that out of hoſtility with a foreign nation, a ſyſtem of polity would ariſe propitious to the views of the then conductors of our affairs. Hence, though a war with

* In addition to the adminiſtrative acts of Mr. Adams, as well as his writings, which evidently favour a ſyſtem of polity inconſonant with our own, he has frequently expreſſed himſelf friendly to a government ſimilar to that of Great Britain. The following letter bears ſtrong teſtimony of this fact, and evinces the impropriety of having placed Mr. Adams at the helm of our affairs.

"*Portſmouth October* 10*th*, 1800.

Dear Sir,

"Your agreeable favor of the 4th inſtant, has this moment come to hand. I am greatly rejoiced to ſee gentlemen of property and influence come forward at this eventful moment in the common cauſe of our country: I have no doubt we ſhall yet be ſaved.

"I am now packing my baggage and ſhall ſet out in the ſtage to-morrow morning, for the city of Waſhington. I hope to be in Baltimore the beginning of next month: this prevents my anſwering your letter ſo fully as I could wiſh, having only one moment to ſpare.

"In the converſation held between Mr. Adams, Mr. Taylor and myſelf, Mr. Adams certainly expreſſed himſelf (as far as my memory ſerves me) in the very words mentioned in your letter, viz. That he hoped or expected to ſee the day when Mr. Taylor and his friend Mr. Giles would be convinced that the people of America could not be happy without an *hereditary chief Magiſtrate and Senate*, or at leaſt *for life*.

Believe me ſincerely,

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN LANGDON."

Mr. Samuel Ringold.

that nation was, as the event has proved, eaſily avoidable, meaſures exactly fitted to precipitate us into its frightful embrace, were ſedulouſly purſued. It is to this ſolicitude to drag the union into a war with France, that thoſe ſlanders are attributable which were ſo liberally circulated of Dr. Logan, as well as that legiſlative cenſure which was imperiouſly pronounced againſt him for his patriotic and amiable interpoſition in favour of peace. How ineffable was the mortification and diſappointment of the war-party, when it was demonſtrated to the conviction of the nation, that every conceſſion which we had a right to demand of France could be more readily obtained without, than with hoſtility! After the reſult of thoſe amicable offices performed by Dr. Logan was known, the mantle of deluſion which had been artfully thrown over the country, rapidly diſappeared. Our citizens began to caſt their eyes about them like men awakening from a diſorderly dream; and they plainly perceived that our government was the principal, if not the ſole obſtacle to a reconciliation of the two nations. Thus the charm was broken, and the "pleaſing hope, the fond deſire, the longing after" a government diſſimilar to our own, which was expected to ariſe from, and which was ſuſpended on the event of war, inſtantly vaniſhed. The foundation gave way, and the fancied edifice fell.

We have paſſed through theſe ſcenes without regret, becauſe, I hope, not without profit. But may it not with confidence be ſaid, that the advantage can only be meaſured by our remembrance of them? We look back upon thoſe ſcenes as a traveller views from a delightful grove the deſerts through which he has paſſed with difficulty, and without one ray of conſoling hope to cheer his languid ſpirits. As by compariſon, adverſity ſuperadds a zeſt to

ſubſequent pleaſure, ſo we ſhall appreciate the advantages we now enjoy by duly comparing them with the cheerleſs days we have left behind us. But when we conſider the natural imbecility of memory, and the conſtant application which is neceſſary, even to preſerve the little knowledge we have acquired by experience and reſearch, we cannot but regret that the only hiſtory written of the adminiſtration of Mr. Adams has been *ſuppreſſed*, not by the imperious mandates of law, but by a ſingle individual, and, in all probability, to promote private views incompatible with the public welfare.

The period is arrived, when it is no longer neceſſary to conceal the fact, that the hiſtory of the adminiſtration of Mr. Adams was *ſuppreſſed* by the *vice preſident of the United States*. What the motives and objects of Mr. Burr were for the *ſuppreſſion*, we are left principally to conjecture and inference to determine. In ſuch a tranſaction, however, thoſe who *know* the *vice preſident*, will readily allow that *poſitive* proof of the motives of the ſuppreſſion is not to be exhibited. There is about his actions a *cunning*, a ſort of *legerdemain*, which, while it defies concluſive proof, eludes the moſt acute reſearch. In every thing therefore which relates to this gentleman, no higher a ſpecies of teſtimony *ought* to be *expected*, than that of a circumſtantial or preſumptive nature. All the three kinds of proof indeed, are in their nature nothing more than comparative, and purſuing degrees of compariſon to the extent of their applicability, *and no further*, it may be truly affirmed, that *preſumptive* proof of whatever bears relation to Mr. Burr, is as *poſitive*, as the *moſt abſolute* evidence againſt plain, honeſt citizens. Habituated to intrigue, and diſtinguiſhed by the *ſecrecy and celerity* of his movements, it is problematical whether even his confidential friends could bring home to

him a single act of his of moment. It is said, and I believe with truth, that one of his primary political maxims is, never to *converse* on an important subject in the presence of *two men!* Nor is it, it is believed, less a maxim with him, to avoid communicating, even to his confidants, his ideas in writing on political subjects. Oral communication is his element, and even *this* is regulated by a rule of *secrecy* so nice, as to forbid his conversing on material affairs in the presence of more than one man! Thus fortified by subtle rules, from which he never departs, it will not be expected that I can so far enter his cabinet of curious secrets as to adduce that sort of testimony concerning the suppression of the history, as will impose conviction on every mind, that it was suppressed with views unfriendly to the administration of Mr. *Jefferson*. Nor indeed will this be strenuously insisted on. I shall content myself in the *present publication*, with offering a few remarks in addition to what has been said, and with laying the facts I possess before the public, who are most competent to form a correct opinion of the subject.

Habituated to secret movements and dark consultations, it may be said, that the covert manner in which Mr. Burr carried on the negociation for the suppression of the history, was nothing out of the ordinary way in which he conducts his political affairs. But let it not be forgotten, that Mr. Burr possesses sufficient powers of mind to distinguish between what requires concealment and what does not; and that both the one and the other are by him regulated by his inordinate views of personal ambition. In matters in which the public are concerned, secrecy which abhors disclosure and shuns the light of day, ill comports with the general welfare. Nor is it to be presumed that the public can with safety, repose confidence in him who appears solicitous on-

ly to wrap his actions in profound myſtery. Such conduct is calculated to inſpire jealouſy and diſtruſt. A ſtate juggler who, retiring from the public eye, ſpreads miſchief by his puppets, may aſtoniſh with his ropes and pullies the ſatellites by whom he is ſurrounded; but a ſenſible public knowing their rights and valuing their liberty, will abandon him as they would flee from a deſtructive peſtilence.

Thus Mr. Burr is conducting his political affairs, and mounting ſtep by ſtep to the ſummit of political authority. Verſed in the art of hocus-pocus, while ſitting in his ſtate room waiting the entrance of his political tools into the anti-chamber, the wretched heralds of his will, his mandates fly through the union and extend to its extremities. Hence his inviſible ſpirit inſinuates itſelf into every circle, and with its deleterious qualities corrupts whatever it touches. Operating upon the public by numerous agents, confidence muſt ſometimes be *miſplaced*; and from neceſſity he is reluctantly conſtrained to employ men who are either incompetent to carry into execution his ſecret deſigns, or who, vainly proud of their menial and diſhonourable offices, proclaim their buſineſs by unfolding their connection. Hence, to know the mind of the principal, it is only neceſſary to ſound the opinion of the agent. To aſcertain the views of the former, nothing more is requiſite than to hear the latter ſpeak. Theſe agents differ however in degrees of taciturnity and circumſpection. Some, perhaps from long habit, are little inferior in ſubtilty, in aſſimulation and diſſimulation to the prime mover. But there is *one*, who, unfortunately for Mr. Burr, divulges ſecrets confided to him with great indiſcretion. He is young, impetuous, and loquacious: And, if general report be true, nature (ſometimes ſportive) placed in his head the tongue of a woman. It is probable that this young man, without intending it, has injured Mr.

Burr much. This, no doubt, is the effect of an over-zeal, at all hazards and by all means, to lift him to the pinnacle of political glory. Whether this ardency of zeal arises from *expectancy* or *disappointment* is not precisely known; it is however believed that both these ingredients are mingled with those motives which impel the youth to move with the velocity of Mercury, and to chatter with the fluency of a magpye!

The suppression of the history, is one of those items in the catalogue of Mr. Burr's intrigues, which required, from a variety of considerations, unusual care to hide it from the public. But here the danger to which he was exposed, was equal to the novelty and magnitude of the undertaking. The suppression could not be effected by the ordinary agents, not even by the subtlest class. It was necessary to call in, in some respects, extraneous aid. In this there was danger. For in proportion to the multiplication of agents, the *craft* with its artifices were liable to exposure. Of this no one could be more sensible than the vice-president. The suppression was however a favorite point; to effect it was an essential part of his general system of finesse; and something must therefore be risked.

Mr. Wood, the writer of the *suppressed* history, and Mr. Burr, have long been intimate. When the latter first heard that the former was about to write a history of the administration of Mr. Adams, he expressed a desire to see him on the subject. Accordingly an interview was had, but for what particular purpose is not precisely ascertained. It is, however, known, and asserted as true, that Mr. Burr furnished Mr. Wood with materials for writing *his own biography* which is a master piece of the hyperbolic, and exhibits in Mr. Burr, to whom the biography of himself was

ſubmitted by Mr. Wood for inſpection, no common degree of vanity. His revolutionary ſervices, which were ſo trifling as to eſcape the notice of the writers of the different hiſtories of the revolution now extant, were ſo repreſented by Mr. Wood as to dazzle the reader with the brilliancy of his exploits. The painting was undoubtedly fine, but it bears no characteriſtic reſemblance of the original. For this I am not diſpoſed to cenſure Mr. Wood, who drew the martial character and revolutionary achievements of the vice-preſident from materials with which he was furniſhed by him. He had no public documents to which he could have recourſe. Hiſtory is ſilent as the grave concerning the revolutionary ſervices of Mr. Burr. Ramſay never mentions him once in his two volumes, and it is believed that the ſame may be ſaid of Gordon and others. This is ſufficiently excuſatory of Mr. Wood. He was to write a biography of Mr. Burr; he could not write it without materials; theſe could only be furniſhed by him who was to form the ſubject of the biographic eulogium; and if they were improper ones, the fault was attributable, not to Mr. Wood, but to Mr. Burr who ſupplied him with them. But while I cenſure miſrepreſentation in others, it is peculiarly incumbent on me to avoid being guilty of it myſelf. I am equally concerned with other men in doing juſtice to all, and, following her pleaſing dictates, I ſincerely declare it as my opinion, that, although Mr. Burr has no good title to the *martial* character of *Bonaparte*, he is not altogether deſtitute of military merit. Nature may have formed him for an *Anthony*, but may it not be aſked whether ſhe has endued him with the juſt and magnanimous ſoul of *Ariſtides*?

Proceeding in this ſtrain of exaggeration, the character given of Mr. Burr in other reſpects in the ſuppreſſed hiſto-

ry, is liable to cenſure. This was, however, no doubt done by Mr. Wood as an additional recommendation of the vice-preſident to the favour of his fellow-citizens. When it was written, Mr. Wood could have had no idea of Mr. Burr's ſubtle machinations to ſupplant Mr. Jefferſon, nor of his agents employed in this diſhonourable work.

The 7th number of Hardie's "New Biographical Dictionary," pages 406-7, contains an elegantly drawn portrait of the vice preſident's father by governor Livingſton. Aaron Burr (the father of the vice preſident) was undoubtedly a man of amiable manners, of good erudition, and of a ſublime genius. He has left behind him a character honourable to his memory, honourable to his country, and which will command eſteem, if not reverence, while learning, and piety, and patriotiſm ſhall have a friend. Although governor Livingſton's character, therefore, of this worthy man, may be a little overſtrained, we view without reluctance the exuberant fancy of the limner, and readily pardon trifling aberrations from exactitude. The character given by governor Livingſton of the father, Mr. Wood aſſerts in the ſuppreſſed hiſtory, which contains the extract, is exactly applicable to the ſon. How far this is correct, I leave the reader to judge for himſelf.

"Governor Livingſton, in ſpeaking of his (the father of the vice preſident,) aſſiduity and uſefulneſs, thus expreſſes himſelf." "Though a perſon of a ſlender and delicate make, to encounter fatigue, he had a heart of ſteel; and for the diſpatch of buſineſs, the moſt amazing talents joined to a conſtancy of mind, that enſured ſucceſs in ſpite of every obſtacle. As long as an enterprize appeared not abſolutely impoſſible, he knew no diſcouragement; but in proportion

to its difficulty augmented his deligence: and by an insuperable fortitude, *frequently accomplished what his friends and acquaintance conceived utterly impracticable.*"*

This passage is extracted *verbatim* from the *suppressed* history; it is however to be found, as I before stated, and as Mr. Wood has himself also stated, in "Hardie's Biographical Dictionary."

Thus deified Mr. Burr could not but be pleased with the transcendent character given of him by his new biographer. He little imagined it would ever be publicly known, that the outlines of it were drawn by himself. Charmed with the notion of being transformed into a celestial being he was solicitous to view his likeness in print before the history was issued to the public.

In November 1801 Mr. Burr visited Philadelphia to project with others a *new Manhattan bank.* As usual, in passing through the state of New-Jersey, it is believed on credible information, he waited on the *honourable* Jonathan Dayton. Between this *gentleman* and Col. Burr an uninterrupted and cordial intercourse has taken place ever since the celebrated struggle in the house of representatives for a federal executive. Whether Mr. Wood's history formed a subject of their colloquies on national affairs, is not known; but from a variety of circumstances it is deemed probable. For although Mr. Burr had not seen the whole of the sheets as they were issued from the press, he was sufficiently acquainted with the contents of the history to

* As far as the words in *Italics* relate to the *intrigues* of the vice president, they are applicable.

form a pretty accurate notion of its tenor. He had reaſon to believe, for inſtance, that the characters who acted conſpicuous parts in the federal drama of 1798-9, were ſeverely laſhed by Mr. Wood.

On the 4th or 5th of December, 1801, Mr. Burr, after the project of the new Philadelphia Bank was completed, returned to New-York. The hiſtory was then ready for ſale, and was to have been iſſued to the public the following week. One of his firſt enquiries was about it, and Mr. Wood was requeſted by Mr. Burr to bring a copy of it to his houſe that he might peruſe the character given of himſelf, previous to the publication of the hiſtory. This requeſt was complied with, and Mr. Burr either diſcovered or pretended to have diſcovered *ſome errors* in his biography *reſpecting dates*. He very ſagaciouſly felicitated himſelf on the diſcovery before the hiſtory was given to the public; deſired Mr Wood to leave the copy with him, and promiſed (after the errors of date were corrected) to defray the expence of printing a new ſheet of his own life and exploits. Theſe errors would have made Mr. Burr about *fifty*, whereas he ſtated he was not more than *forty-five* years of age. Viewing matters *proſpectively*, it was deemed of ſome conſequence to correct the miſ-dates. To one who is looking forward to the Preſidency; to gain, at the age of fifty, five years on the ſide of youth, is no inconſiderable acquiſition!

According to promiſe, Mr. Wood waited on Mr. Burr the following morning to receive the copy with the corrections; ſome *evil genius*, however, had prompted Mr Burr to read the volume throughout, and *more errors* were diſcovered. Theſe were enumerated to Mr. Wood with

great apparent candor and ſincerity.* It was objected that the character of Mr. Hamilton, Charles C. Pinckney, Jonathan Dayton, and General Waſhington were not accurately delineated ; and it was added with *great tenderneſs* that the book contained many *libellous* paſſages. He therefore enquired whether an agreement could not be made with Barlaſs and Ward to *ſuppreſs it?* He conceived that the character of Mr. Hamilton was *miſrepreſented*, meaning, that where encomium was beſtowed upon him it was unmerited—that Mr. Charles C. Pinckney, who was repreſented by Mr. Wood as a perſon of *leſs integrity* than Mr. Hamilton, was a man of *purer principle* than any other in the union. Upon general Waſhington, undeſerved eulogiums he ſaid had been laviſhed ; and that during his Preſidency he had evinced himſelf a perſon poſſeſſed of unbounded vanity, without talents either as a ſoldier or ſcholar. Continuing his criticiſms, Mr. Wood he obſerved had wholly miſtaken the character of the *honourable* Jonathan Dayton. Referring to his connection with Francis Childs, which Mr. Wood had noticed in his hiſtory to the diſgrace of Mr. Dayton, he declared that Childs was a *ſcoundrel*, and indebted to Mr. Dayton in the ſum of *one hundred thouſand dollars*. The character given by Mr. Wood of Mr. Adams, he liked ; it was a bad one, and he thought it repreſentative of the ex-preſident.† Mr. Burr reſerved his critical remarks

* The reader may rely, if he pleaſe, implicitly on the following facts. They are indubitable. They can be proved in a court of law if neceſſary.

† The reader is referred for information on this ſubject to Dayton's connection with Francis Childs, publiſhed in a pamphlet intitled, "Dayton's ſpeculations in ſixteen letters," and to a bill filed in the court of Chancery of this ſtate, by Childs againſt Dayton. Theſe are ſufficient to ſink Dayton even in his own eſtimation.

on the character given by Mr. Wood of Mr. Jefferson to the laſt. This he did not think exactly deſcriptive of that illuſtrious perſon. He obſerved that Mr. Jefferſon was not a man of *genius ;* he was a *plodding, mechanical* perſon, of little activity of mind, and poſſeſſed of a judgment not very diſcriminative. Mr. Jefferſon he ſaid had alſo another great failing ; he courted and was fond of popularity ! He ſuggeſted to Mr. Wood the propriety of writing his character anew, and promiſed to furniſh him with facts relative to Mr. Jefferſon which were little known to the public, and which would be found exceedingly intereſting. Reſpecting the *libellous* paſſages contained in the hiſtory, Mr. Burr was mute ; he did not even condeſcend to mention one of them. His whole ſoul ſeemed abſorbed in diſpoſing of certain characters as Bonaparte diſpoſes of petty nations, to gratify his ambition and to exalt his own.*

* It is difficult to aſcertain the preciſe point at which Mr. Burr aims. Why, for example, he wiſhes to exalt the character of Mr. Charles Coteſworth Pinckney, and debaſe that of Mr Hamilton, may ſeem, at firſt glance, enigmatical. It is known that Mr. Pinckney was and is the favourite of Mr. Hamilton. But it is alſo known that Mr. Hamilton uſed his influence to obtain, at the preſidential election, after the votes were known to be equal, the elevation of Mr. Jefferſon to the chair of ſtate in preference to that of Mr. Burr. It is probable that Mr. Burr is intriguing to place, with the federaliſts, Mr. Pinckney in the preſidential chair at the next election, and to effect, by ſo doing, a continuation of himſelf in the ſecond office of government. This is the way in which he expects to make his peace with them. He is now conſcious that *he is too well known to be ſupported by the republicans.* Viewing the matter then in this light, which I think not a falſe one, Mr. Hamilton is evidently in his way ! ! Mr. Burr would willingly go through another vice-preſidency probation with Mr. Pinckney at his head, to aſcend afterwards to the Preſidency. This, I am of opinion, he now judges, and judges rightly, to be his dernier reſort.

Whether the New-England ſtates [Maſſachuſetts and Connec-

Theſe were the reaſons aſſigned by Mr. Burr for his ſolicitude to *ſuppreſs* the whole edition of the hiſtory of the adminiſtration, to have *a new hiſtory written under his immediate inſpection, and to be made up of materials to be furniſhed principally by himſelf.* Theſe he promiſed to ſupply in abundance, and dilated on the value ſuch a production would be of to the union. By way of ſuperinducement, he ſtated that facts would tranſpire in Congreſs in the courſe of ten or twelve days which would aſtoniſh the nation, and convince Mr. Wood that the notions he had entertained of the various characters juſt enumerated were erroneous. But over

ticut I mean, for New-Hampſhire, Vermont and Rhode-Iſland are now republican] will cordially co-operate to promote ſuch a project is yet to be aſcertained. It is certain that Mr. Adams is the favourite of thoſe two ſtates, as well as of many reſpectable and influential federaliſts in ſome of the other ſtates. Mr. Burr may not, however, conſider Mr. Adams a very powerful opponent: Yet his anxious deſire that this frightful but juſt portrait of the ex-preſident ſhould go to the public unaltered, is calculated to induce the belief that he entertains ſome apprehenſions on this ground. Dayton is friendly to Pinckney, and on this account it is (as well as others of a delicate nature which I will explain in another publication) that ſo cordial a reciprocity of ſentiment and good offices daily takes place between Mr. Burr and himſelf. That Mr. Burr is unfriendly to the character of WASHINGTON, is not ſtrange. That they entertained a mutual diſlike of each other while the General was living, is well known. That Mr. Burr is hoſtile to Mr. Jefferſon is nothing new to well informed men. That he avails himſelf of every mean, of every convenient opportunity to render his adminiſtration unpopular, is too notorious to be queſtioned by any man converſant with our affairs. Hence we may account for Mr. Jefferſon's not being "a man of genius," for his being "a plodding, mechanical perſon," and for his "love of popularity." Strange that a man who is not ſcrupulous about the means by which he is eſſaying to mount to the moſt dignified office on earth, ſhould cenſure, in malignant whiſpers, Mr. Jefferſon's "love of popularity!

the history Mr Wood had no controul; he had written it by contract for Barlass and Ward, who were the sole owners of it. Being however the writer of the history, he was thought by Mr. Burr the most eligible person to negociate its suppression. He therefore requested Mr. Wood to wait on Barlass and Ward to make an agreement with them to suppress it, and promised that *he* and *his friends* would bear the expence which might be agreed upon. Not clearly perceiving Mr. Burr's views for wishing it to be suppressed, and being anxious, as every author necessarily is, to make his work as perfect as possible, Mr. Wood accepted the office of *agent of Mr. Burr*, and, receiving suitable instructions, commenced the negociation.*

There was one difficulty in the suppression which it was necessary immediately to remove. In the preceding week a copy of the history had been sent to London by the *Juliana*, for publication. It was necessary to countermand the order of publication immediately. Had the history been published in London, the suppression of it here would not have answered the intended end. The suppression was to be universal and entire. After its publication in London, it would soon have reached America. To this point therefore, the talents and address of the negociator were early directed.

* Mr. Burr enquired of Mr. Wood whether he was not acquainted with a person who had influence over Mr. Barlass? He was referred to one of the professors of Columbia College, a gentleman of great respectability. To this gentleman Mr. Burr applied and requested his good offices to obtain the suppression of the edition of the history. But when the professor was informed that the work was to be suppressed to favor some *federal* gentlemen whose characters he did not admire, and also, that the *suppression* was to be kept a *profound secret*, he very properly declined to have any thing to do with it.

After Mr. Wood had received his inſtructions from Mr. Burr, he applied immediately to Barlaſs and Ward, and entered on the duties of his office. But they were averſe to informal negociation; they would not liſten to verbal overtures. Accordingly Mr. Wood addreſſed to them the following *note, under the inſpection of Mr. Burr.*

" New-York, December 11th, 1801.

Gentlemen,

" I hereby propoſe to indemnify you for the nett expences of printing the hiſtory of the adminiſtration of John Adams, including the paper thereof, and to furniſh you with a new manuſcript copy in the ſpace of *ten days from this date*, on condition that the preſent edition be entirely ſuppreſſed. *Should it not be ſuppreſſed, you will be proſecuted for the libels it contains.**

I am Yours Gentlemen,

JOHN WOOD."

" Meſſrs. BARLASS and WARD."

To Mr. Wood's note the following anſwer was received.

" New-York, December 11th. 1801.

Sir,

We have received your propoſals, wherein you offer to indemnify us for our nett expences, and give us another manuſcript copy within the ſpace of ten days, provided we agree to ſuppreſs the edition which we have printed.

We have no objection to ſuppreſs the work, provided we receive a competent indemnification. The nett expences

* It had been ſaid by Mr. Burr, that if the proprietors would not ſuppreſs the work, they would (or ſhould) be proſecuted by Mr. Dayton, who would not allow them the option of giving up the *author.*

would be no object to us, considering the risk we have run, and the trouble we have had; and also, the uncertainty but what we should be put to the same trouble again after we had printed the altered copy.—However, we offer you the following conditions, which, if you agree to, you may depend upon the most strict compliance on our part.

1st. We will entirely suppress the edition, provided we receive two thousand dollars, or,

2d. We will run the risk of printing another edition, and destroy the one we have finished, for fifteen hundred dollars.

N. B. If neither of the above proposals should be agreed to by you, we must publish the work with an appendix, wherein you may insert any corrections you may think proper.

M. WARD, & Co.
WM. BARLASS."

"Mr. JOHN WOOD."

To this letter Barlass and Ward received no immediate answer. It was most essential, in the first stages of the negociation, to stay the publication of the copy sent to London. Concerning this previous arrangement, Mr. Wood was reduced to a troublesome alternative. To stop the publication of the London copy was absolutely indispensable. On the 12th of December the brig Recovery was to sail from this port to Greenock, and it was not known when another opportunity might occur. It was therefore necessary to transmit orders to London by the Recovery to delay the publication of the copy until further instructions should be received. Here an interesting scene presented itself, and Mr. Wood was put to a severe trial. The first branch of his instructions was unequivocal and im-

perative on this head, *that he was not to mention the name of his employer, Mr. Burr, except in a case of the utmost necessity.* Although Mr. Wood might have availed himself of this latitude of phraseology, and have exercised a corresponding discretion, yet he was aptly cautious lest unfavourable circumstances should result from possible mis-judgment. Barlas and Ward were unwilling to supercede their orders to publish the copy sent to London, without being previously assured that no loss to them should ensue from the act: nor was Mr. Wood disposed to be responsible for money considerations which the negociation might involve: he viewed himself in the transaction simply as the agent of the vice-president. In this dilemma what was he to do? During the whole of this important day, which was to decide—I will not say the fate of America—but of the edition, no access could be had to Mr. Burr, for he had company! This hindered Mr. Wood from representing to Mr. Burr the extreme urgency of the case, and from having the benefit of his advice as to the proper expedient to be adopted in it. His only alternative, therefore, was to communicate to Barlas and Ward the name of the person for whom he was negociating the suppression. This he did, but with so much prudence and ability, as to induce Barlas and Ward to enter into a written agreement to *forfeit three hundred dollars in case they divulged Mr. Burr's name!**

To this part of the negociation Mr. Wood received the following note:

* This article is now in the hands of Mr. William P. Van Ness, of this city. This gentleman soon afterwards became a confidential and active agent of Mr. Burr in the suppression. It was with him Mr. Wood subsequently advised when Mr. Burr was absent, or when it was inconvenient to be approached!

" New-York, December 12, 1801.

Sir,

We received your note* requeſting us to ſtop the copy, which we ſent to England, of your hiſtory, *at the request of Mr. Burr*; at your deſire we certify that *we look to Mr. Burr for compensation, and not to you.*

M. WARD and CO.
WILLIAM BARLASS."

" Mr. JOHN WOOD."

This difficulty being ſurmounted, orders were ſent to London, by the Recovery, to prevent the publication of the copy. So far an important point was gained to Mr. Burr.

The next item in Mr. Wood's inſtructions directed him to prevail on Barlaſs and Ward, to accept the *nett amount* which the edition had actually coſt, as the price of its ſuppreſſion. We have already ſeen by their letter of December 11th, that the ſum demanded was two thouſand dollars, or fifteen hundred and a new copy. But by a calculation made on the part of Mr. Burr, it was found that the entire expence of printing the edition had perhaps coſt ten, but certainly not more than eleven hundred dollars, and a determination was accordingly formed not to give a larger ſum. Conformably with it, the propoſition contained in Mr. Wood's note of December 11th was now again propounded, and, by Barlaſs and Ward, again refuſed. Frequent interviews were had without coming to a final ſettlement. Mr. Wood was limited in his inſtructions to eleven hundred dollars, a ſum which the proprietors of the book thought much too ſmall.

* This note is alſo in the hands of Mr. William P. Van Neſs.

Here Mr. Burr resorted to a *happy* expedient to compel Barlafs and Ward to accede to his propofition. It has already been ftated that he was to furnifh Mr. Wood with materials for writing new biographies of the Prefident, Mr. Hamilton, C. C. Pinckney, Dayton &c. He was alfo to fupply him with fuch matter as would make the work appear almoft entirely new. It was determined that the negociation fhould be profecuted with lefs vigour ; that it fhould be carried on in fuch a way as would be nearly equivalent to a fufpenfion. During this relaxation, Mr. Wood was to compofe *a new hiftory* of the adminiftration, preferving fuch parts only of the old one as accorded with the views of the vice prefident. And as expedition was the foul of the expedient, an affiftant to Mr. Wood was to be procured. Mr. Cornelius Van Nefs, brother to Mr. William P, Van Nefs, was mentioned by Mr. Burr as a truſty perfon, and truly fitted, as well by his taciturnity as talents, for the office. This young gentleman was to arrange the facts, and to lay them before Mr Wood fheet by fheet in fuch order as that he might eafily give to them his claffical drefs. As the fheets were thus written, they were to be fent to Mr. William Davis,* the *printer*, who it was fuppofed could work off an edition of twelve hundred and fifty copies (the number of Barlafs and Ward's edition) in twelve or fourteen days. This was to be done with that fecrecy and promptitude which characterize the movements of the vice prefident. The firft copy ftruck off of the edition of the new hiftory was to be prefented to Barlafs and Ward, accompanied with the fingle remark that if they would fuppreſs *their edition*, and take

* It is not afcertained whether Mr. Davis knew of this project. Perhaps he did. It is mentioned here as a *cabinet fecret*, and as a real fact.

the *new one* in exchange, it would be well; if not, they might publiſh it, but that the *new one* would alſo be publiſhed.

This was an admirable project; like killing two birds with one ſtone, it would have ſecured to Mr. Burr two objects at once. In this caſe Barlaſs and Ward would have found it to be their intereſt to *ſuppreſs* their *own edition*, and take the edition of the *new hiſtory* in exchange. On the other hand the price of the ſuppreſſion would have been no greater than the price of printing the edition of the *new hiſtory*. Another advantage to Mr. Burr would have reſulted from this delightful ſcheme; the *new hiſtory* would have been compoſed to pleaſe his own palate !*

Pending this *projet*, Barlaſs and Ward addreſſed to Mr. Wood the following letter :—

"New-York, December 16, 1801.

Mr. WOOD,

Having been delayed in the publication of your hiſtory ſome time, and having ordered back the copy we tranſmitted to London, by your order, we wiſh to come to ſome final determination upon the ſubject, as it will be impoſſible for us to be hindered in the publication any longer; we therefore as our ultimate conditions, offer you the following :

We will ſuppreſs the printed edition for 1250 dollars, provided we receive, *gratis*, another copy within the ſpace of days.

* This remark is not made in derogation of Mr. Wood. The *new hiſtory* was to be written according to the materials furniſhed by Mr. Burr; and Mr. Wood's confidence in that gentleman would have induced him to think them *ſound*.

The money we have actually paid out amounts to 1050 dollars. The time we have loſt by being delayed, the trouble we have had, the loſs we ſhall ſuſtain in ſtopping the London copy, and the diſadvantage in laying a conſiderable time out of our money, we may calculate (at leaſt) at 200 dollars ; which ſum, added to what we have already paid, is 1250 dollars.

If you are not inclined to agree to the above propoſition, we will proceed to publiſh the work, you giving us immediately the corrections, which we will print in an appendix, but which muſt not exceed eight pages.

M. WARD & Co.
WILLIAM BARLASS."

" Mr. JOHN WOOD."

This letter plainly evinced that Barlaſs and Ward were deſcending rapidly from their lofty eminence. Hopes were entertained that by proper management the ſuppreſſion might be effected to the ſatisfaction of both parties for eleven hundred dollars. The definite propoſition was accordingly made to Barlaſs and Ward to give them that ſum with the copy right of a *new hiſtory*. This mode upon the whole was preferred by Mr. Burr, ſince by it an amicable adjuſtment it was thought might be effected with ſuitable ſecrecy, and an edition of a new hiſtory be iſſued without the country being at all aware of the exchange.

Barlaſs and Ward cloſed with Mr. Wood's propoſition to give them, to ſuppreſs the work, 1100 dollars and the copy right of the new hiſtory. The letter expreſſive of their aſſent to it is now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. William P. Van

Neſs. One half of the amount was to be paid *immediately* in ſpecie, the other in notes at two and three months. *Mr. Burr ratified the agreement and promiſed to pay the money in good faith.* This contract was made about the 18th of December.

Barlaſs and Ward were now in daily expectation of receiving the money and the notes. Day ſucceeded to day, but without producing either. Fearful of diſappointment they became alarmed. They were the more anxious ſince they were apprehenſive that the agreement to ſuppreſs the work would become generally known, which, ſhould Mr. Burr eventually recede from the contract, would injure the ſale of the edition. Amid this anxiety of mind they received a note from Mr. Wood, dated December 26th, offering them *two hundred dollars* to relinquiſh their claim to the copy right of the *new hiſtory*. To this note the following one is an anſwer.

" New-York, December 26, 1801.

Mr. WOOD,

We agree to deliver up to you the copy right of the new hiſtory of the adminiſtration of John Adams, for two hundred dollars* as ſoon as we have received the money which we are to receive for ſuppreſſing the edition which we have printed.

M. WARD and CO.
WILLIAM BARLASS."

This propoſition to relinquiſh the copy right was made from the idea that the proceeds of the ſale of an edition of

* Mr Ward and Co. relinquiſhed their claim to the copy right on condition that they were to have the printing of the new hiſtory. Mr. Barlaſs was *promiſed* one hundred dollars for the relinquiſhment of his claim.

the *New Hiſtory* would be at leaſt equivalent to the ſum which *was to be paid* for the ſuppreſſion of the *firſt one*. Viewing the matter in this light, it was concluded that Barlaſs and Ward might be indemnified for the ſuppreſſion of the hiſtory, without Mr. Burr being eventually a loſer by it.

Here the negociation ended, and nothing was wanting to carry it completely into execution but the due fulfilment of the ſtipulations mutually ratified and duly exchanged, to wit, the payment of the 1100 dollars for the ſuppreſſion, and one hundred to Mr. Barlaſs for the relinquiſhment of his claim to the copy-right of the new hiſtory. A day was appointed to fulfil the agreement, but appointed in vain.

The appointed day was that on which Mr. Burr left this city, to take his ſeat in the ſenate of the United States. He had promiſed to pay the money and to give the notes; but to do either was inconvenient.

Previous to his departure, however, he informed Mr. Wood, who waited on him for the purpoſe, that he had given orders to Mr. William P. Van Neſs to ſettle the buſineſs with Barlaſs and Ward, who would accordingly do ſo.

In conformity with the orders given by Mr. Burr to Mr. William P. Van Neſs, Barlaſs and Ward applied to him for ſettlement: this was (I believe) the day after the vice-preſident left this city for Waſhington. Mr. Van Neſs heſitated; ſaid that Mr. Burr would have paid the money if he had had it, and expreſſed doubts of his ability to raiſe the ſum himſelf. Frequent interviews were ſubſequently had, but without producing the deſired effect. Barlaſs and Ward

now found that it was neceſſary to adopt vigorous meaſures to enforce the fulfilment of the agreement. Accordingly, Mr. Counſellor Wortman was conſulted as to the propriety of inſtituting a ſuit againſt the vice-preſident for the recovery of the ſum promiſed to be paid for the ſuppreſſion of the edition. But it was thought moſt prudent again to apply to Mr. Burr, before a meaſure ſo harſh as an appeal to law was reſorted to.

This application Mr. William P. Van Neſs made by letter, which was received by Mr. Burr at Philadelphia, on his way to Waſhington. Mr. Van Neſs's letter communicated to Mr. Burr the information (which was true) that the ſuppreſſion had become a ſubject of public converſation, and that *his name* had been publicly mentioned as the perſon at whoſe inſtance the ſuppreſſion had been effected. Mr. Burr was alſo informed in the letter, that Barlaſs and Ward looked to him for the ſum agreed to be paid for the ſuppreſſion. This is the import of the letter, as mentioned by Mr. Van Neſs to Barlaſs and Ward, who were not permitted to ſee it.

Mr. Burr's reply was laconic and pithy. It was addreſſed to Mr. Van Neſs. The letter was not ſeen by Barlaſs and Ward ; but the ſubſtance of it as communicated *verbally* by Van Neſs to them is as follows :—

" He (Mr. Burr) was *ſurpriſed* his name was mentioned in the tranſaction ; he was happy however that the book was ſuppreſſed ; he was ſorry the buſineſs was not ſettled ; but if they (Barlaſs and Ward) looked to him for the money they might do ſo." This was accepted by Barlaſs and Ward as a refuſal to fulfil the agreement.

By this time the ſuppreſſion, the manner in which it had been accompliſhed, and by and for whom, had become generally known. The novelty of the tranſaction excited much curious ſpeculation. This was conſidered by Barlaſs and Ward unfavourable to the ſale of the work, even if they ſhould be inclined, in this diſcouraging ſtate of things, to have recourſe to it to indemnify themſelves for the expence they had incurred in printing the edition.

They therefore reſolved to try another expedient to induce Mr. Burr to comply with the conditions of the contract. They imagined that as the ſecond officer in government he would have ſome concern for his reputation. Soaring to the firſt office in the Commonwealth they could not conceive that, for the paltry ſum of 1200 dollars, he would ſuffer his character to be ſtained by a public expoſition of ſo ſingular a tranſaction.

Accordingly Barlaſs and Ward communicated to Mr. William P. Van Neſs their intention to publiſh the hiſtory with an appendix, ſetting forth the negociation, its nature, for whom it was commenced, the object which they thought was meant to be effected by it, together with the correſpondence of the two parties. This produced a requeſt from Mr. Van Neſs, that they would wait until a letter could be ſent to and an anſwer received from Waſhington.

Both Mr. Van Neſs and Mr. Wood wrote to Mr. Burr informing him of the intention of Barlaſs and Ward to publiſh the hiſtory with an appendix as ſtated, provided he did not immediately order the money to be paid. Mr. Wood expreſſed his ſurpriſe that this had not been done.

No anſwer was returned to the letter of Mr. Wood ; and nothing ſatisfactory was communicated by Van Neſs to Barlaſs and Ward, who now came to a reſolution to proſecute Mr. Burr for the conditioned ſum.

To enable them to do this Mr. Wood was requeſted by Barlaſs and Ward to give them an affidavit of his connection with Mr. Burr in the ſuppreſſion. This requeſt was complied with, and Mr. Wood's affidavit was taken by Mr. Jonathan Pearſee, jun. Attorney at Law, and Notary Public in this city. The affidavit is now in the poſſeſſion of Mr. William P. Van Neſs. It ſtates, that Mr. Wood "was employed by Mr. Burr about the beginning of December 1801, to bargain with Barlaſs and Ward for the ſuppreſſion of the hiſtory of the adminiſtration of John Adams, late Preſident of the United States, written by himſelf. That after ſeveral conferrences, he made an agreement with them to ſuppreſs it for 1100 dollars, one half to be paid in caſh, and the other in notes at two and three months. One hundred dollars in addition were to be paid to Mr. Barlaſs for relinquiſhing his ſhare of the copy right of the *new hiſtory*. That with this concluſion Mr. Burr was ſatisfied and promiſed to pay the money according to contract."*

Poſſeſſed of this affidavit, Barlaſs and Ward reſorted to Richard Harriſon, eſq. late Recorder of this city for his advice. Mr. Harriſon viewed Mr. Wood as the *mere agent of Mr. Burr* in the negociation ; and he entertained no doubt of the liability of Mr. Burr to the payment of the ſum

* This is copied from the writing given to Mr. Pearſee by Mr. Wood, and from which the affidavit was drawn up. It is but juſtice, however, to Mr. Pearſee to ſay that the copy was not obtained from him ; it was had from a very different quarter.

agreed upon for the ſuppreſſion of the edition; he therefore adviſed a proſecution.

Still, however, a ſuit was not preferred. Senſible of the expence and of the "law's delay," they choſe to make another effort to obtain the ſum by gentle means in preference to appealing to the law.

Here a dawn of hope beamed upon them. Finding that Barlaſs and Ward were ſerious, and that bringing the matter before a court would not add to the fading luſtre of the vice-preſident, Mr. Van Neſs promiſed to pay the money.

Obſtacles, however, occurred which occaſioned procraſtination of payment. Mr. William P. Van Neſs penned a certificate, ſetting forth that Mr. Burr had nothing to do with the ſuppreſſion, and that he knew nothing of the hiſtory until his return from Philadelphia! This Mr. Wood was requeſted to ſign, which he refuſed. In the certificate it was alſo ſtated that when Mr. Burr diſcovered his name was mentioned in the hiſtory, he was much offended! He wiſhed not to be named in any political work! Mr. Wood was unwilling to ſet his hand to a paper of falſhoods; and the artful project, therefore, of Mr. Van Neſs to acquit Mr. Burr of the tranſaction, failed.

Mr. Van Neſs now declared that he would give no more for the ſuppreſſion than one thouſand dollars, and that Mr. Barlaſs ſhould abandon his claim to the one hundred which it was agreed ſhould be given to him for his ſhare of the copy-right of the *new hiſtory*. Perceiving the obſtacles which were thrown in the way of an adjuſtment agreeably to the original contract, Barlaſs and Ward bowed aſſent. So that one thouſand dollars only were to be paid.

Writings were now to be executed to bind Barlafs and Ward and Mr. Wood, to *an entire fuppreffion of the hiftory.* It was propofed by Mr. William P. Van Nefs, that Mr. Wood fhould bind himfelf under a heavy penalty *never to write another hiftory of the adminiftration of Mr. Adams, nor any thing about the fuppreffion of the one which he had written!* This was rejected. Mr. Wood was ready to enter into a contract not to publifh or cauſe to be publifhed the contents of the fuppreffed hiftory. This he thought fufficient. He faw no reafon why he fhould not, if he were inclined, write *another* hiftory of the adminiftration. He would not confent to be reftrained from writing by any man. He confidered himfelf at liberty in future to write or not to write as it fhould feem to him meet: he was therefore unwilling to receive the fhackles which Mr. Van Nefs graciouſly attempted to impofe upon him!

Accordingly, a new inftrument was draughted for Mr. Wood, which fimply reftrains him from publifhing or cauſing to be publifhed *the whole* or *any part* of the contents of the *fuppreffed hiftory.* This he ſigned.

Suitable bonds were alſo draughted for Barlafs and Ward, which they executed; and *the one thouſand dollars was paid to them by Mr. William P. Van Nefs on or about the 12th day of May* 1802.

On the 13th of May the whole edition, conſiſting of twelve hundred and fifty copies, was removed, *between four and five o'clock of the morning*, from *Mr. Ward's book-ſtore to the houſe of Mr. William P. Van Nefs.*

The reader may perhaps aſk why the *new hiſtory* has not been publiſhed? The anſwer is ſimple. Mr. Burr pro-

miſed Mr. Wood, when he left this city for Waſhington, to furniſh him with the materials for it in ten days. This, however, has not been done. It has been ſtated, that when Mr. Burr went from New-York to take his ſeat in the ſenate, he was unconſcious that his name had been mentioned as the perſon to gratify whom the ſuppreſſion was negociated. With this circumſtance he afterward became acquainted, and it is probable he very properly concluded that Mr. Wood would not anſwer his purpoſe ! !

Such has been the riſe, progreſs, and final concluſion of this ſingular tranſaction ; concerning which it may not be improper to offer a few reflections.

There are two modes of *abridging* the *freedom* of the *preſs* ; the one by law, the other by purchaſing literary productions and by ſo doing making that invaluable Palladium of our rights ſubſervient to private views. The former is more pernicious becauſe more univerſal. The latter is baleful only in proportion to the inclination and means of individuals to *ſuppreſs* publications, and the venality of authors. Both are, however, of one criminal nature ; and were they alike extenſive in their operations, they would become equally injurious to the public. In one reſpect the abridgment of the freedom of the preſs by individuals is more pernicious than by law. In the latter caſe, there is no *ſuppreſſion ;* libellous publications are followed only by fine and impriſonment. Theſe publications generally compenſate the community for the ſufferings of libellers. But where the competency of individuals enables them to *ſuppreſs* literary productions entirely, high public functionaries may jeopardize the ſtate by criminal projects without being in danger of expoſure. So far, apart from other conſiderations, the public cannot but feel

concerned, in the tranſaction which forms the ſubject of this narrative.

This practice is peculiarly inauſpicious in a Vice-Preſident. It is ominous of a ſubtle, dangerous, and unfriendly diſpoſition. It beſpeaks a deſire to cheriſh vice by concealment, and to elevate it upon the ruins of virtue. It exhibits a diſpoſition to controul public opinion to the prejudice of the general welfare. It is, in one word, ſo incompatible with our conceptions of what a Vice-Preſident of the United States ought to be, that, were I not convinced the ſuppreſſion was effected with a view to promote his election to the Preſidency by endeavouring to impair the character of Mr. Jefferſon, I ſhould be aſtoniſhed at the act.

Let me aſk why the hiſtory was ſuppreſſed? Surely it could not have been done without a motive. Was it to ſhelter Mr. Wood from the penalties of the law that this *patron* of *literature* and the *fine arts* ſuppreſſed the edition? Was it becauſe the hiſtory abounded with *libels* on federal characters and his conſequent fear of Mr. Wood's being ſeized by the talons of the law? Even if this were his motive, however we might admire and applaud his *tenderneſs* for the *ſtranger*, we could not commend the act that conſigned to oblivion, an octavo volume on a moſt intereſting ſubject becauſe of the defects of one of its pages. *But it was not.* For although Mr. Burr lightly obſerved that the hiſtory contained libellous paſſages, it is plain thoſe paſſages made ſo faint an impreſſion upon his mind as to leave not a trace behind. In cautiouſly enumerating his reaſons for ſoliciting the ſuppreſſion of the hiſtory, Mr. Burr was ſilent upon the libels he at firſt ſtated it contained. The ſuppreſſion was accompliſhed to attain a much greater object, one

of much more value to Mr. Burr than the *safety* of Mr. Wood. Nor will it be believed that Mr. Burr, whose private concerns, like those of other men, call for all his pecuniary resources, would voluntarily offer *twelve hundred dollars* to shield Mr. Wood from *federal* prosecutions. The story is too Quixotic to be accredited in this "Age of Reason."

Let it be admitted that Mr. Burr suppressed the history *merely* to shield Mr. Wood from probable prosecutions; how then shall we account for that *profound secrecy* which was almost to defy the all-piercing eye of omniscience? Surely Mr. Burr had no occasion to conceal so good an act from the public. If he stood on truly republican ground he had nothing to hope from the federalists; nor had he any thing to fear from the republicans for performing a deed so meritorious, so benevolent. It would have redounded to his honor; it would have raised him in the estimation of his fellow-citizens. It would have had a tendency to obliterate those suspicions of his political conduct which he knew were entertained by honest and well informed men. Had he suppressed the edition from so praiseworthy a motive, those machinations which good men despise, and to which bad men resort, would have been unnecessary.

It is by ascertaining what *could not have been* Mr. Burr's reason for suppressing the history, that we shall arrive at the *true* and satisfactory one. Admitting that no dereliction of sentiment on his part had taken place at the commencement of the negociation, it will not be presumed that he would suppress the history because it was *evidently republican*. That it is entitled to this respectable appellation, no man

whom Mr. Van Neſs ſhall permit to read it, can have any doubt. To what then ſhall we aſcribe the ſuppreſſion? On the one hand, to a deſire to conciliate the affections of moſt of the federaliſts who acted prominent parts in the late adminiſtration, and whoſe conduct was ſeverely cenſured by Mr. Wood; and on the other, to repreſent in a novel but unfavourable light, in the *new hiſtory*, of which he was to furniſh the materials, the character of Mr. Jefferſon and that of ſeveral of his moſt diſtinguiſhed friends. If it ſhould be aſked what end theſe machinations were to anſwer? The reſponſe is at hand. To prepare the way for that *union* with the *federaliſts* which there is reaſon to believe is now *half completed*; to fully the luſtre and to tarniſh the reputation of the executive.

This the writer preſumes to think is the only rational concluſion that can be drawn from this ſingular and unprecedented tranſaction. It is one which he cannot reſiſt; it is very ſtrongly impreſſed on his mind. Other circumſtances too of great weight, numerous, diverſied and impoſing have a powerful tendency to convince him that no confidence in future ought to be placed by *republicans*, in the vice-preſident.

From this *union*, however, little is to be apprehended. The influence of Mr. Burr compared with that of the executive, is only as an atom in compariſon of the globe we inhabit. *Out* of this ſtate he is ſcarcely known; within it, *beyond* the limits of the city he may be truly ſaid to have *no influence*; and even in the city he is univerſally diſtruſted except by *a very few individuals* who *favour his ſchemes from hopes of gaining by his election.*

It is time for "a union of all honeſt" *Republicans* to take place. A few individuals, deſperate in fortune, devoid of good principle, of great enterprize, and unbounded ambition, however inſignificant in their origin, may, by national indifference, grow to a ſize which, like the memorable conſpiracy of *Catiline* of old, will menace the overthrow of the empire. By timely attention and ſpirited exertion that ruin may be averted with which the Union is in ſome ſort now threatened.

This appeal is made to the nation at large, ſince the ſubject of it is of national concern. It is, however, peculiarly incumbent on the inhabitants of this city to frown upon the little faction. It is now in its infancy, but time and inattention may ſwell it to a giant ſize. Every man ſincerely attached to the preſent order of things, and to the *peace* and *freedom* of the union, ought to *diſcountenance*, not only Mr. Burr, but thoſe *few perſons** who are *known* to be in league with him. We know from experience what an executive can do. The union was convulſed to its centre by the machinations of Adams. We were threatened not only with war, but with the loſs of freedom. It is fearful to reflect upon what our condition would, in all probability be, were Mr. Burr at the head of our government. If Mr. Adams could do ſo much, how much more could Mr. Burr effect? It cannot be concealed that he is a man of *deſperate fortune*; bold, enterprizing, ambitious, and intriguing; thirſting for military glory and *Bonapartian* fame. A man of no fixed principle, no conſiſtency of character, of contracted views as a politician, of boundleſs vanity, and liſtleſs of the public good; one who is purſuing with an

* Their names ſhall be laid before the public at a proper ſeaſon.

"appetite keen as death, and a hand ſteady as time," projects diſreputable to himſelf and injurious to the country.

Such is the character of the man who

"Fit to diſturb the peace of the world"

is endeavouring, by *little* arts, to ſupplant the chief-magiſtrate, and to eſtrange the affections of the people from him. This indeed has been his uniform practice from the very moment the republicans agreed to ſupport Mr. Jefferſon as Preſident and himſelf as Vice-Preſident. To effect this he had agents in the different ſtates during the Preſidential election. This ſhall hereafter be proved.

It is matter of extreme felicity that the improper intrigues of the vice-preſident are well known by thoſe men in different ſtates who are moſt competent to guard againſt them; men whoſe attachment to Mr. Jefferſon increaſes with his days; who view with mingled emotions of regret and indignation thoſe acts of Mr. Burr which can only tend to make him odious to the people and blaſt his once flattering proſpects. Had the vice-preſident conſulted his true intereſt, he would have accompanied the wiſhes and expectations of the people. Predicated on an unaccountable ignorance of their character, his calculations of them have been erroneous. The *American nation* will neither be ſurpriſed by artifice, nor ſubjugated by ſplendid deception. Duly appreciating their rights, their affections are to be won only by good offices. They love their executive for the good he has done and ſtill does them. They repoſe confidence in him becauſe he has never deceived them. Meriting and poſſeſſing their affections to an extent rarely equalled, he is invincible to the ſtratagems of the vice preſident. The majeſty of the people ſhines reſplendently in the executive; that people who burſt the chains of Mr. Adams, and who will rend the *ſilken* cord of Mr. Burr.

The following contents are extracted *verbatim* from the suppressed history. They are here inserted to enable the reader to form some idea of the general tenor of it.

CONTENTS OF THE HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks—Biography of Mr. Adams—Review of his political tenets—Causes of his Election.

CHAPTER II.

Speech of Mr. Adams—Speech of Mr. Jefferson—British Piracy—Mr. Monroe's Embassy.

CHAPTER III.

Speech of the President—Answer from the House of Representatives—Proceedings of Congress.

CHAPTER IV.

Remarks on the meeting of Congress—History of the Algerine Treaty—Blount's Conspiracy investigated—British Piracy.

CHAPTER V.

Speech of the President—Address from the Senate—Blount's Conspiracy—Quarrel between Mr. Lyon and Mr. Griswold—Instances of a similar nature in the Parliament of Scotland, the House of Commons in England, and the Senate of Lucerne in Switzerland—Communication from the

President relative to the negociation with France—Acts passed by Congress.

CHAPTER VI.

Reflections on the conduct of the President—Dismission of Mr. Gardner of New-Hampshire—Spies encouraged—Anecdote of the spy Oram—Treatment of General Sumpter, of South-Carolina, at the new Circus Philadelphia—Persecution of the Dunkards—Federal Addresses—Vanity of the President—Remarks of Mr. Calendar on the President's answer to the New-Jersey Militia—Procession of the President from Quincy to Boston—Bostonian honours—Reception given to the President at Fanuiel-Hall—Characters of the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives.

CHAPTER VII.

Observations upon the Alien and Sedition Laws—Arrestment of Dr. Smith, and Mr. Burk—Origin of Dr. Smith's acquaintance with Mr. Adams—Trial of Col. Matthew Lyon—Barbarous treatment towards French Prisoners—Case of Joseph Ball and others.

CHAPTER VIII.

Meeting of Congress—Speech of the President—Remarks—Impeachment of Blount—Gerry's Dispatches—Story of the Female Spy and her Tubs of Seditious Papers—Acts passed by Congress.

CHAPTER IX.

Dr. Logan—Capture of L'Insurgente—Trial of Dr. Reynolds, Duane and others—Attack upon the Aurora Office—Case of Ebenezer Giles.

CHAPTER X.

Trial of John Fries for High Treason.

CHAPTER XI.

Trials of Jonathan Robbins, Isaac Williams, and William Frothingham.

CHAPTER XII.

Remarks upon an aristocratic form of government—The administration of Mr. Adams compared to an aristocracy—Quarrel at Trenton between Mr. Adams and his Ministers—Hamilton's Letter respecting their difference—Appointment of an Embassy to France—Characters of the Envoys—Anecdotes of Adams and Franklin—Adam's jealousy and dislike to Franklin—Adams endeavours to calumniate Franklin.

CHAPTER XIII.

Meeting of the sixth Congress—President's speech—Death of General Washington—Proceedings of Congress—John Randolph insulted at the Theatre of Philadelphia—Acts Passed by Congress.

CHAPTER XIV.

Lives and characters of Thomas Jefferson, Aaron Burr, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

CHAPTER XV.

Memoirs of Alexander Hamilton—Remarks on the Constitution of Connecticut—Trials of Cooper, Calender, and Holt —General observations.

CHAPTER XVI.

Meeting of Congress—President's Speech—French Treaty—Proceedings of the Houfe of Representatives—Anecdotes of Mr. Adams—Election of the President—Observations on the dismission of Pickering and M'Henry.

IT may be necessary to assign our reasons for publishing the following Biographies.

Since it became generally known that the History of the Administration of Mr. Adams was suppressed by Col. Burr, his few confidential friends who are sedulously endeavouring to promote his views, have industriously sought palliations for the act. Knowing the work was suppressed, and of course, that it could never come before the public, they have thought they could with *safety* assign a *spurious* reason for its suppression. They have stated that the History was an *aristocratic* one; that it spoke in strains of unbounded *eulogium* of *federal*, and of disrespect of *Republican* characters. The History has by them been represented throughout as a *high-toned federal production*; that from *pure patriotism*, and to *spare* the republican cause, Mr. Burr not only suppressed the work, but paid twelve hundred dollars out of his own private purse for the suppression! This story has had the

desired effect on many good citizens, who had it not in their power to say, "I have heard two opposite accounts on this subject, and, I will, therefore, read the book and judge for myself." This was known to the propagators, who, of course concluded they could circulate the misrepresentation without being liable to detection. The character of Mr. Hamilton was instanced which was said to be a chef d'œuvre of paneygeric. To refute these calumnies, the following remarks, taken *verbatim** from the suppressed History, on the respective characters named, are here inserted. The life and character of Mr. Hamilton is *entire*; it is not a *part* of what Mr. Wood wrote in his History of that gentleman; but the *whole*. The whole of Mr. Jefferson's Biography contained in the history would occupy about twenty pages of this narrative. That which relates to the early part of his political life is only extracted; the whole would be too long for our purpose. It is all, however, exceedingly honorable to Mr. Jefferson, and such as every good and intelligent man would write respecting that estimable man. The facts mentioned in the extract are not Mr. Wood's; they are only clothed in his own language. All of moment that was said in the history of Mr. Dayton is here extracted, as well as the principal part of what Mr. Wood has written in it respecting General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Enough is inserted in the Narrative concerning Mr. Adams to give the reader an idea of Mr. Wood's opinion of him. Of General Washington nothing was said in the history but what is hereafter stated. The remarks respecting this great man were the introductory ones of the first chapter of the History.

* *For the accuracy of the extracts, we appeal to Mr. William P. Van Ness, in whose hands the whole edition now is.*

BIOGRAPHY

OF

MR. JEFFERSON.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON was born in the year 1743, at Montecello, in the county of Albemarle, in Virginia—he was the eldest son of his father, who was a respectable landholder, and joint commissioner appointed with Colonel Fry for settling and extending the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, in 1749.

" About the age of fourteen he was sent to the university of William and Mary, in the city of Williamsburgh, a seminary which though not equal to the European schools, has yet produced several characters that in classical knowledge and legal abilities would do honour either to Cambridge or Oxford.

The progress which young Jefferson made in the different departments of science and literature was rapid, and he obtained the degrees of the college with honour to himself and credit to his instructors. At the desire and advice of his relations, he commenced a course of law under the direction of George Wythe, now the venerable judge and sole chancellor of Virginia. Being naturally fond of philosophic pursuits, and accustomed to acute discrimination and logical discussion with his fellow students, he greatly facilitated the acquirement of legal knowledge, which he now studied as a profession.

In 1766 he came to the bar of the supreme court of his

native State, and on his first appearance gave indication of talents that would rise to high eminence. Here he continued to practice with success and reputation until the commencement of the American revolution in 1775, when he was called forward to support the rights of his country, and for those important ends, which have been conspicuously realized in the various capacities in which he has acted.

"Mr. Jefferson is in his person tall and slender, of a fresh complexion, clear, penetrating eyes, his hair inclining to red and of a deportment modest, affable and engaging. In early youth, the only period which fortune seems to have allotted him, for a social intercourse with the world, he was in every circle its ornament, instructor and pride. A close application aided by an uncommon strength of mind, supplied the want of many European advantages, without neglecting the particular study which was the primary object of his employment: Mr. Jefferson found sufficient time to attend to the polite acquirements. He relieved the tedious fatigue of law, by improving the knowledge of geometry, astronomy and natural philosophy, which he had acquired at the university; and the research of science, he occasionally blended with the lighter and perhaps more agreeable amusements of drawing and music. In the latter art he not only arrived at that degree of mediocrity which serves to soften the passions and refine the tender feelings, but was considered among amateurs as a considerable proficient.

"In 1774, when the inhabitants of America were roused into action by the tyranny and accumulated wrongs of the British

government, Mr. Jefferson published his celebrated pamphlet, "Summary view of the rights of British America," addressed to the king, which brought forward against the author threats of prosecution from the Earl of Dunmore, then governor of Virginia; Mr. Jefferson was obnoxious to this nobleman on another account. Dunmore was in his own country considered as one of the most intemperate and dissolute young men of his age—the climate of Virginia with the unlimited authority of a British governor, served to inflame his passions and heighten his licentious habits. His hours, in place of being spent by redressing the wrongs and lightening the grievances of the Virginia planters, were devoted to the gambling table, and the indulging of the sensual appetites. A young lady of the name of Campbell the daughter of a respectable merchant in Richmond, became the victim of his unbounded amours. Her brother, an officer in the king's service, called Dunmore to account for his injured sister. The haughty governor, in place of giving the satisfaction which justice required, had him arrested and sent to England, where by the sentence of a court martial, he was deprived of his commission. A well wrote and accurate statement of this unwarrantable outrage appeared soon after in the public papers of Virginia; the author I am informed, was a lawyer of the name of Foster, but the earl of Dunmore supposed it, from the ability displayed, to have been the production of Mr. Jefferson. His threats, however, produced no other effect than to cause Mr. Jefferson publicly to avow himself the author of the Rights of British America.

About this time he married an amiable woman, the daughter of Mr. Wayles, an eminent counsellor in Virginia; that

affectionate partner, unfortunately no longer exists.—The death of this lady in 1780, devolved on him a more weighty care, the education of two lovely daughters, their surviving issue; these have been reared under his own immediate inspection, and have accompanied his diplomatic functions whithersoever they have been directed.

It was not to be expected that a man of such conspicuous qualifications could be suffered long to remain in the shade of philosophic retirement. In the year 1775 he was elected a member of the Virginia convention, and on the 4th of August, in the same year, one of the members to represent that State, then colony of Virginia, in Congress. In this legislature, he became a distinguished and useful member, and has left many traces of sufficient importance to display his knowledge of legal jurisprudence.

In the memorable year of 1776, which separated the United States from their mother country, and gave the example of freedom to the monarchies of Europe, we find Mr. Jefferson advancing to a still more dignified station. He was chosen along with Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman and P. R. Livingston, to draw up the declaration of our independence, an instrument which will ever be considered as the magna charta of American liberty. It was from the elegant pen of Mr. Jefferson, who was first named on the committee, that this instrument proceeded, which so long as the records of time shall endure, will perpetuate the fame of its author. He was also honoured with the public confidence, by being appointed a member of the first congress, where he sat two years, supporting a character highly respectable, and which

will stand dignified in the judgment of our remotest posterity.

In the year 1778, Mr. Jefferson, being then a member of the Virginia legislature, presented to that body the act "to prevent the importation of slaves," which was enacted into a law in the month of October of the same year, and was shortly followed by another act "to authorise manumission," being the commencement of a system of general emancipation, also, proposed by him.

The first critical period in Mr. Jefferson's civil administration, was when he received the appointment of governor of Virginia in the year 1779, in the room of Patrick Henry, who was the first governor under the renovate constitution, and the successor of the Earl of Dunmore. Mr. Jefferson continued in this office until June 1781.

During these years, Mr. Jefferson had much to contend with. The State experienced three invasions, and he had, not only, to combat an open enemy in the field, but to encounter the insidious snares of a secret faction, who assailed his reputation and stabbed him in the dark. They insinuated that he had abandoned the government of Virginia to its enemies, and sought personal safety by flight to the mountains, and that he likewise had refused to pay military claims in preference to those of the civil list.*

In the year 1781 under the pressure of public business

* *In answer to these slanderous falsehoods, I have transcribed the arguments of Mr. Jefferson's Biographer in an English publication, entitled "Public Characters of 1801."*

and family affliction, Mr. Jefferson prepared his celebrated work, afterwards published in Europe, entitled "Notes on Virginia."

"In the year 1783, Mr. Jefferson was appointed to a seat in congress, from whence he was nominated as ambassador to the court of Spain, but the approach of peace, it is presumed, rendered his voyage unnecessary. In the following year on the 7th of May, he was nominated by that honourable body, minister plenipotentiary of the United States, to the court of France, as the successor of the venerable Franklin. From thence he communicated his negociations concerning the freedom of the tobacco trade, and the powerful opposition of the farmer's general, &c. to Mr. Jay, then our minister of foreign affairs in a letter dated the 27th of May 1786. In the letter he evinces considerable diplomatic talents and success, having gained the approbation of M. D. Vergennes and the acquiesence of M. de Calonne. He has also recommended to the people of Carolina, an improvement in the preparing their staple commodity, rice, in order to lead the Mediterranean market. In another letter to Dr. Stiles President of Yale College, dated Paris, September 1st, 1786, he displays a fund of sentiment and information sufficient to intitle him to the confidence of his country and the admiration of society.

"On the 23d of October 1786, M. de Calonne announced to Mr. Jefferson, by letter from Fontainbleau, the intention of the king of France to favour the commerce of the United States as much as possible, to double the number of their free ports, to reduce the duties which were prejudi-

cial to the commerce with America; that after the expiration of a contract made by the farmer's general with Mr. Morris, concerning tobacco, no similar one should be permitted; and that during the existence of Mr. Morris's contract, the farmer's general should be compelled to purchase annually about fifteen thousand hogsheads of American tobacco. This regulation of the tobacco trade, though not wholly, is in conformity to the principles proposed by Mr. Jefferson."

BIOGRAPHY

OF

MR. HAMILTON.

"As General Hamilton acted a conspicuous part during the late administration, in promoting the views of the federal interest, in combating the enemies of the British treaty, and opposing what was unjustly termed jacobin influence, it is proper that some account of that able officer and intelligent lawyer, should appear in this volume.

"Alexander Hamilton was born about the year 1753, in the island of St. Croix, his father was a merchant of some eminence, and he himself was educated to the same profession; he acted for several years as a clerk, to a counting

house in that island, and acquired by an active diligence, the favour and esteem of all with whom he had connection—at the age of eighteen he was sent in the same capacity to New-York, in which sphere of life he continued until the commencement of the revolutionary war.

"This was the theatre for which nature had destined young Hamilton; he entered into the American army, and distinguished himself by uncommon enterprise and valour. His reputation procured him the appointment of an aid-de-camp to general Washington. In the year 1780 he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and at the siege of York-Town commenced the attack on one of the redoubts, the capture of which, decided the fate of lord Cornwallis and his army. The conduct of Mr. Hamilton on this occasion, was truly honourable, and in the history of his life, ought to weigh against several of those scars that have since disgraced his character. Previous to the assault, the Marquis de la Fayette proposed to general Washington to put to death all the British troops that should be found within the redoubts, as a retaliation for several acts of barbarity committed by the royal army. The steady and nervous mind of Washington, which was never known to yield to the virtuous prejudice of compassion, gave his assent to the bloody order, but Mr. Hamilton (the tenderness of whose feelings has led him into error,) after the redoubts were subdued, took the conquered under his protection, and proved to his enemies that America knew how to fight, but not to murder.

"When the war was at an end and the army was disbanded, Mr. Hamilton betook himself to the study of the law;

for this purpose he retired to Albany, where he secluded himself for several months, at the end of which, he appeared at the bar of New-York, where in a short time he acquired the reputation of an able advocate in point of legal knowledge and rhetorical talents. At this period, the political sentiments of Mr. Hamilton were observed to change, from being a zealous republican and the defendant of the right of America, he gradually imbibed the tenets of aristocracy, until at length he became the admirer and advocate of every measure allied to monarchy.

" This change in Mr. Hamilton's principles, which at first proceeded from conviction, and has since been strengthened by views of interest, is easy to be accounted for.

" Mr. Hamilton unfortunately, was a native of that part of the civilized world, where tyranny and slavery prevail in a manner, even, unknown to the despots of Europe; it was utterly impossible that the habits and prejudices he contracted in infancy could ever have been eradicated. The desire of ambition and power, which poisoned the first drop of blood that flowed in his veins, could only have been suppressed by a more powerful passion: this was the passion of war. Mr. Hamilton panted after fame and glory, and joined the republican standard as the most promising field for a display of those powers he possessed. He fought for liberty with the same zeal as a Briton would engage in the support of the grand Turk or Dey of Algiers. To acquire the applause of his commander, and respect of his fellow soldiers, was his pride and ambition. In this he was successful, and when

liberty was the object of his struggle, he was a republican: but when America had procured her independence and the horrors of a civil war were at an end, Mr. Hamilton had no longer a scope for his ambition in the theatre of arms. In his study of law he perceived another path to power; his copious imagination took a rapid survey of the civil code, the fascinating structure upon which the feudal system is raised and the combined policy of English jurisprudence. In this fabric of human knowledge the production of ages, Mr. Hamilton perceived something more lofty and splendid than those simple forms which modern republicanism cultivates. The grandeur attendant on hereditary titles pleased his mind and flattered his vanity. The American tory against whom he had fought, he now began to defend, and in every suit where a loyalist was concerned, Mr. Hamilton was the royal pleader. It is a certain fact, that a great majority of the loyalists in the state of New-York, owe the restoration of their property solely to the exertions of this able orator.

" Before the federal government was established, in the year 1788 Mr. Hamilton prepared a new constitution to be composed of the following articles.*

Such a constitution as there sketched out by Mr. Hamilton, would have been a direct extirpation of the rights of Americans. Experience has proved that the number of senators is so small, that a president may always command the ac-

* *The constitution referred to is the one general Hamilton proposed in the convention who formed the present federal constitution.*

quiesence of the majority in any measure he thinks proper. If therefore, the president and senate were to hold their places for life, nothing could be expected but tyranny and corruption. With the powers conferred by Mr. Hamilton, the president of the United States would only require the title of monarch, to fit him for the company of the despots of Europe.

" In the year 1788 Mr. Hamilton was appointed secretary of the treasury: while in this department a circumstance occurred, which will ever place his character in a suspicious point of view. This is his celebrated avowed intrigue with Mrs. Reynolds the wife of Mr. Reynolds, whose father had been in the commissary department during the revolutionary war. Reynolds and one Jacob Clingham, a clerk in the employment of Mr. Muhlenburgh, were arrested towards the close of 1792, at the instance of Mr. Wollcot the comptroller of the treasury, on a charge for supposition of perjury. Clingham procured bail but Reynolds did not; when the latter was in custody, Clingham applied to Mr. Muhlenburgh for his aid in behalf of himself and Reynolds, and repeatedly dropped hints, that Reynolds knew several very improper transactions of Mr. Hamilton, signifying that he was deeply concerned in speculation, and that he had it in his power, even, to hang him. This information created such uneasiness in the mind of Mr. Muhlenburgh that he consulted with two of his friends, Mr. Munroe and Mr. Venable, on the subject, they waited on Reynolds, who appeared to confirm the report made by Clingham, and added, he could not communicate the particulars as he was apprehensive it might prevent his discharge, but what he

would disclose the whole when liberated; he procured his discharge through the interest of Hamilton, the morning after the visit to Munroe and Venable, and immediately absconded.

" The sudden enlargement and flight of Reynolds, were additional proofs of the truth of what Clingham had suggested. Messrs. Muhlenburgh, Munroe and Venable in order to obtain some information respecting the singular story, waited upon Mrs. Reynolds, the wife of the run-away, they found her alone, and in a state extremely agitated; after some difficulty, they obtained the following particulars; that colonel Hamilton and her husband had been for some time in the habit of correspondence, but at the request of the former, and in the absence of the latter, she had burned almost all the letters; that colonel Hamilton offered her his assistance to go to her friends, and he also advised that her husband should leave this country not to be seen again, in which case he would give her something clever.

" Mrs. Reynolds also told Clingham, that her husband received from colonel Hamilton at one time $ 1100; Reynolds himself said, that colonel Hamilton had made $ 30,000 by speculation, and had supplied him with money to speculate.

" Clingham reported that after Reynolds was discharged, which was about eight or nine o'clock in the evening, he (Reynolds) sent a letter about twelve o'clock at night to colonel Hamilton by a girl, whom Reynolds followed to the

door. When the girl returned, he informed Clingham that he need not go out of town that night, but would call upon colonel Hamilton next morning.

" These are the general particulars respecting this intricate correspondence, contained in the reports of Messrs. Muhlenburgh, Munroe and Venable, which were made public by Mr. Calender in the 1796.

" Mr. Hamilton immediately came forward with his defence, or rather a confession of a crime even of a more henious complexion than pecuniary speculation. He avowed himself to the world to have been the seducer of an amiable though unfortunate woman.

" No words can paint the baseness of this action more forcibly than the language of Mr. Hamilton. " The charge against me is a connection with one James Reynolds for purposes of improper pecuniary speculation: my real crime is an amorous connection with his wife, for a considerable time, with his privity and connivance.

" This confession is not made without a blush; I cannot be the apologist of any vice, because the ardor of passion may have made it mine. I can never cease to condemn myself for the pang which it may inflict in a bosom eminently entitled to all my gratitude, fidelity and love: but that bosom will approve, that even at so great an expence, I would effectually wipe away a more serious stain, from a name which it cherishes with no less elevation than tenderness. The public

too, will I trust, excuse the confession, the necessity of it to my defence against a more heinous charge, could alone have extorted from me so painful an indecorum."

" Mr. Hamilton by his own account, became acquainted with Mr. Reynolds in the following manner. Some time in the summer of 1790, a woman called at his house in the city of Philadelphia, and asked to speak with him in private, he of course attended her into a room apart from the family, with a seeming air of affliction she informed him that she was a daughter of Mr. Lewis, sister to Mr. G. Livingston of the State of New-York, and wife to Mr. Reynolds, whose father was in the commissary department during the war with Great Britain: that her husband, who for a long time had treated her very cruelly, had lately left her to live with another woman, and in so destitute a condition, that though desirous of returning to her friends, she had not the means: that knowing colonel Hamilton was a citizen of New-York, and a generous man, she had taken the liberty to apply to his humanity for assistance.

" Mr. Hamilton says that he was disposed upon hearing her story to afford her assistance, but it not being convenient for him at the moment, he requested the place of her residence. She very readily relieved his anxiety and gave him the street and number of the house where she lodged. Towards evening, he put a bank bill in his pocket, and making some apology to Mrs. Hamilton, went off to administer comfort to the distressed female. He enquired for Mrs. Reynolds and was shown up stairs, at the head of which, the lady met him and conducted him into her bed-room. He took the bill

out of his pocket and slipped it into her hand, some tender conversation then ensued, from which it was quickly apparent says Mr. Hamilton) "that other than pecuniary consolation would be acceptable."

Such was the nature, according to Mr. Hamilton, of his connection with Reynolds and his wife. He rambled for 18 months in this scene of pollution, and squandered by all accounts above $ 12,00 to conceal the intrigue from his loving spouse. Those who experience the same tender feelings with Mr. Hamilton, may give credit to his tale of shame; but the cold hearted enquirer will more probably assign his profligacy to a different cause, at any rate he will allow that a person of such amorous habits was by no means qualified to fill the office of Secretary of the Treasury.

"The next important incident in the history of Mr. Hamilton, is his defence of the British treaty, he appointed a day to meet its opponents and convince them by argument, of the benefits arising to the United States from the articles it contained.

"No place is more unfit for a display of logical reason than the assembly of a tumultuous mob. The rhetoric of Mr. Hamilton was soon overpowered by hisses and shouts of reproach. When he was thus prevented from advocating its cause by the force of oratory, he had recourse to the eloquence of the pen, and published a series of letters under the signature of Camillus in defence of the British treaty.

"These letters, though the sentiments they contain are

inimical to the interest of this country, ought notwithstanding, to be held in the highest veneration by every lover of literature. The correct style of language which they exhibit, will be long a model of perfection to Americans, and without laying claim to the gift of prophecy, I may safely assert, that the pages of Camillus will be read when the British treaty and the name of governor Jay will be otherwise buried in oblivion.

" Mr. Hamilton has been severely censured, and perhaps with justice as being the author of the funding system; the promoter of the snuff excise law, that passed the 5th of June 1794, and the cause of the war of 1790, with the north western Indians.

" Mr. Hamilton was in 1798, appointed inspector general and commander in chief next to Washington, of the army of the United States. This promotion, the merits of Mr. Hamilton certainly deserved. His abilities in this respect dare not be doubted: and if ever it should be the misfortune of America to be involved in a war, while Mr. Hamilton lives, it would be both imprudent and unjust, were he deprived of a principal command.

" The literary fame of general Washington, is said to have been raised on the talents of Alexander Hamilton, and report even whispers that Hamilton himself claims the merit of Washington's letters, and that he has boasted of receiving letters from gen. Washington with the word private wrote on the back of them and a cross drawn over the seal. After opening such a parcel, the contents were " *Dear Ham-*

ilton put this into style for me," prefixed to some speech or letter inclosed. The letters of Washington are, however, much inferior to those of Hamilton, and differ remarkably in point of style. Most probable they no more received the new correction of Hamilton, than the lectures of Sir Joshua Reynolds did the finishing stroke of Edmund Burke.

" Such are the general outlines of the life and character of Alexander Hamilton. As a soldier and scholar, he has rendered most eminent services to the United States, but as a political character, he has been the greatest misfortune."

OF GENERAL WASHINGTON.

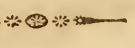
[*Extracted from Mr. Wood's History.*]

" The United States of America enjoyed under the administration of the illustrious Washington, all those advantages which result from the prudent policy of a virtuous magistrate. The peaceful system which he pursued, repaired in a great measure, the injuries sustained by a long and expensive civil war. His interests and passions were the same as those of the people, and a constant communication of good offices kept alive their attachments."

OF JONATHAN DAYTON,

[*Extracted from Mr. Wood's History.*]

" JONATHAN DAYTON, of New-Jersey, the late speaker of Congress, is notorious from Boston to Georgia. The deeds of the other members of Congress, were scarcely known beyond the circles of their respective States, but the speculations of this man have rung throughout the western world. They are unfolded in sixteen letters to one Francis Childs, which were made public by a bill of complaint, which Dayton and one Lawrence presented to the Chancellor of New-York against Childs. The letters will speak for themselves ; for any comment upon such a scheme would only tend to render stale and less flagrant the rascality of the transaction. Some crimes are so horrible in their nature as will not endure the lash of censure ; and the actions of Dayton are of this class."



Of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

[*Extracted from Mr. Wood's History.*]

" In 1794, Col. Pinckney was appointed Commander in Chief of the Militia of South-Carolina, which station he held until his memorable embassy to France : the particulars of that diplomatic expedition have been already narrated. *As a*

soldier, General Pinckney deserves every encomium of applause; but as a *political character*, although he does not possess so much integrity as Hamilton, yet it would be great injustice to place him on the same scale with Mr. Adams, or even the most virtuous of his adherents, General Pinckney possesses at least some principles of honor, and a share of judgment that will always prevent him from covering his country with disgrace."

CHAPTER XII.

Quarrel at Trenton between Mr. Adams and his miniſters—Hamilton's letter reſpecting their differences—Appointment of an embaſſy to France—Characters of the Envoys—Anecdotes of Adams and Franklin—Adams's jealouſy and diſlike to Franklin—Adams's endeavour to calumniate Franklin—Vindication of Franklin—Memoirs of Alexander Hamilton.

"IN the town of Trenton, the capital of New-Jerſey, the firſt public ſchiſm in the federal cabinet took place.

"The particular expreſſions which paſſed on this occaſion, between the Preſident and his miniſters never tranſpired; but from the printed letter addreſſed to Mr. Adams, by General Hamilton, we are informed of the principal cauſe of their difference.

"Mr. Hamilton aſſerts, that after the failure of the Pinckney embaſſy to France. Mr. Adams arrived at Philadelphia, from his ſeat at Quincy, and that "the tone of his mind ſeemed to have been raiſed rather than depreſſed." That his counſellors ſuggeſted to him that it might be expedient to inſert in his ſpeech to Congreſs a ſentiment of this import.

"That after the repeatedly rejected advances of this country, its dignity required that it ſhould be left with France in future to make the firſt overture; that if deſirous of reconciliation, ſhe ſhould evince the depoſition by ſending a miniſter to this government, he would be received with the due reſpect to his character, and treated with the frankneſs of a ſincere deſire of accommodation." Mr. Adams received this ſuggeſtion in a manner both indignant and in-

temperate, and declared, "*That if France ſhould ſend a miniſter to-morrow, he would order him back the day after.* But in leſs (ſays Mr. Hamilton) than forty-eight hours from this extraordinary ſally, the mind of Mr. Adams underwent a total revolution. "He reſolved not only to inſert in his ſpeech the ſentiment which had been propoſed to him, but to go farther, and to declare, that if France would give explicit aſſurances of receiving a miniſter from this country with due reſpect, he would ſend one."

"In vain did Pinckney and M'Henry oppoſe this reſolution. Mr. Adams obſtinately perſiſted and the declaration was introduced.

"Mr. Adams appears afterwards to have nominated Mr. Murray as Envoy to the French Republic, without previous communication with any of his miniſters. Shortly after he nominated two more, Judge Elſworth and Mr. Davie.

"Mr. Elſworth's talents were no doubt great, but his opinions reſpecting law were formed upon the Mansfield ſyſtem. His deciſion in the caſe of Capt. Williams, was directly oppoſed to the law of nations, and to the former practice of the American courts. His knowledge of European affairs was alſo very limited in theory as well as practice.

"George Davie was better calculated for the miſſion. This gentleman was about 40 years of age; poſſeſſed of engaging manners and an eaſy addreſs; he had been educated at Princeton College; ſerved with reputation in the revolutionary war; afterwards ſtudied the profeſſion of the law, and previous to his appointment, was made a General in the proviſional army, and elected governor of North-Carolina.

" When the news of the revolution in the Directory arrived, Mr. Hamilton says, that Mr. Adams was then at his seat in Massachusetts, and that his ministers addressed to him a joint letter, communicating the intelligence, and submitting to his consideration, whether that event ought not to suspend the projected mission. Mr. Adams, in reply, directed the preparation of a draft of instruction for the envoys, and intimated that their departure should be suspended for some time.

" Mr. Adams arrived soon after at Trenton, about the 17th of October, where he held a council with his ministers. Judge Elsworth and General Hamilton were also present, though not at the desire of Mr. Adams. Mr. Hamilton says in his letter, that he arrived at Trenton a short time before the President, and Chief Justice Elsworth a short time after him ; that the object of his own journey was to concert with the Secretary at War, certain arrangements for the future disposition of the Western Army, and that the cause of Judge Elsworth's arrival was to meet his colleague, Governor Davie, at the seat of government. " Yet these simple and accidental occurrences," says Mr. Hamilton, " were to the jealous mind of Mr. Adams, *confirmations strong* of some mischievous plot against his independence."

" Mr. Adams is said, at this memorable meeting, to have observed a profound silence on the question, whether or not it was expedient that the mission should proceed. His secretaries Pickering and M'Henry, as also General Hamilton, disapproved of the propriety of the embassy, and endeavoured to bring the President over to their opinion, but their arts were of no avail. The morning after the instructions were settled, he signified to Mr. Pickering, that the envoys were ready to depart.

"This reſolution of the Preſident was, by the Hamiltonian party, regarded as bad policy, and incompatible with the dignity of Americans. By the anti-federaliſts, it was, on the contrary, eſteemed a promiſing ſentiment of repentance; but if we examine carefully the character and motives of Mr. Adams, it will appear that he was induced to this conciliatory meaſure, neither from a diſreſpect to his country, nor from the commendable deſire of promoting republicaniſm; but moſt probably with the baſe deſign of rendering odious the meaſures of his Secretaries, the power of whom his jealouſy began to dread.

"The vain and weak judgment of Mr. Adams eaſily figured, that if Pinckney, Hamilton and Pickering were removed from the road to power, he might by courting popular applauſe, riſe on the ſhoulders of the people to an imperial throne, from whence he and his poſterity might dictate to the inhabitants of half the globe.

"No man's vanity can reaſonably be ſuppoſed to exceed that of Mr. Adams. Weakneſs in intellect, which is generally the attendant of pride, is the predominant mark in his character. Theſe cauſes render his temper unſufferable to his moſt intimate friends. On many occaſions Mr. Hamilton ſays, "he is liable to paroxiſms of anger, which deprive him of ſelf-command, and produce very outrageous behaviour to thoſe who approach him." But the eternal rancour which Mr. Adams always evinced againſt the great and good Franklin, is the moſt convincing proof, both of his vanity and the weakneſs of his underſtanding; ſeveral well atteſted anecdotes confirm the truth of this aſſertion.

" During the embaſſy of Franklin, Adams and Lee at Paris, a fete was given in honour of America, by a Mrs. Bertrand, the lady of a nobleman who acted in capacity of lord in waiting to the King. Mrs. Bertrand was one of thoſe celebrated female politicians, who uſed to be in the employ of the court, for the purpoſe of diſcovering, by her intrigues, the ſecret ſprings and intentions of foreign cabinets—ſhe was alſo a lady of ſcience, and the principle patroneſs of the arts in Paris. Her veneration for Franklin was equal to her contempt for Mr. Adams; but Adams and Lee, with almoſt every American of education then at Paris, were of courſe invited to partake of the pleaſures of an entertainment, intended as a compliment to their country. During the performance of a theatrical piece, the portrait of Franklin was introduced on the ſtage—an univerſal burſt of applauſe enſued which wounded the feelings of Mr. Adams to ſuch a degree, that he feigned ſickneſs and left the performance.*

" Mr. Adams ſoon after, in a letter to a friend in this country, complained, " we are all here mere ſatellites, revolving in the orbet of the planet Franklin, borrowing all our light from him, and unable to diffuſe any of our own through his ſuperior influence."

" During his adminiſtration Mr. Adams gave countenance to every calumny which reflected upon the memory of that great philoſopher; he enjoyed with ſecret triumph, the vulgar and ſlanderous abuſe which was darted by the miſcreant Porcupine, at Franklin's diſcoveries. He was even fond and ſedulous, when occaſion offered to caſt a ſhade over his moral and political reputation; but the moſt daring and

* Dr. James Smith now in New-York, was preſent and ſeated near Mr. Adams at the above fete.

villainous ſcheme in which it is reported Mr. Adams aſſiſted to blacken the character of that illuſtrious man, and wound the feelings of his relations, was an attempt to accuſe him of public peculation.

" In the early part of the American revolution, a million of livres was lent us by the French government. After Franklin's death the enemies of liberty ſpread abroad inſinuations, that Dr. Franklin had appropriated this money to himſelf! They contrived alſo to poſſeſs themſelves of all the public papers by which his defendants could vindicate his reputation. This was done in the moſt artful manner. The ſum of 15,000l. ſterling, was given to Mr. Charles Dilly, a book-ſeller in London (who had contracted to publiſh a hiſtory of his life) to purchaſe all the documents which he had received from the family of Dr. Franklin. The only remaining channel of truth were the papers in poſſeſſion of adminiſtration. Theſe were applied for, but refuſed in the moſt contemptuous manner.

" Mr. Adams was not to be diſturbed, or the offices of the treaſury ranſacked, to pleaſe the whims of a few individuals," was the anſwer reported to be given. When, however, the recent change in the executive took place, and the records of ſtate were brought forth from the cells of federal fraud, to bluſh at public inſpection; the facts appeared to be, viz. that the American government was charged with the ſum in queſtion, and it had been allowed in the general liquidation of the French debt, though it had been objected to under Gen. Waſhington. When Gouverneur Morris was at Paris, as our miniſter, he took advantage of the paſſions of the revolutionary period, and addreſſed a letter to the committee of public ſafety, wherein he obſerved, " that it was time indeed to throw off that ſecrecy which involved in obſcurity the

tranſactions of cabinets and the councils of deſpots. The American and French republics could have no ſecrets. Their acts were to be regulated by principles, not actuated by ſordid or perſonal intereſts." He therefore ſolicited an enquiry into the mode by which the million in queſtion had been beſtowed, and to whom. The political fanaticiſm of the day was caught by the jeſuital addreſs of the wooden-legged envoy, and an account was rendered as it appeared on the public record of the royal department of foreign affairs.

" The friends of Mr. Adams had inſinuated the money was given to Dr. Franklin, Gouverneur Morris was, therefore, entruſted to carry the enquiry up to the ſource. After examination, he diſcovered that the ſum had been appropriated and lent to America before Dr. Franklin left this country. The ſuſpicion was, therefore, transferred to Silas Deane ; it was concluded, that Deane could not have the money without Dr. Franklin partaking of the ſpoil or conniving at the robbery. Upon farther inveſtigation, it was found that the money was given even before Deane arrived in France. This was a dilemma which had not been foreſeen ; but having proceeded ſo far, it was neceſſary to go the whole length ; and upon application by Mr. *Morris* an official copy of the receipt was given, which is now on the records of government, which ſhews that the money was procured from the count of Vergennes, by *Caron Beaumarchais ;* and a M. Chevalier, who acted as agent for this banker, and lives in the city of Richmond, has been debited in his account with the United States for that million.*

* This circumſtance I have from a near relative of Dr. Franklin, upon whoſe veracity I can place the greateſt reliance.

"All these facts must have been known to the late administration; but John Adams felt neither the generosity nor the justice due to the memory of Franklin, or the honour of his country to reveal the truth."

FINIS.

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